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WILLIAM DUANE.

By ALLAN C. CLARK.

(Read before the Society, February 13, 1905.)

“Lie on Duane, lie on for pay,
And Cheetham, lie thou too;
More against truth you cannot say
Than truth can say 'gainst you.”

The Evening Post of New York, now very ancient and eminently decorous, let fly this scathing squib. A cut smarted and that accounts for this avenging thrust. For the mail coach had come to the city of Brotherly Love and with the initial issue, November 16, 1801, of the *Evening Post*. Promptly comes, November 21, in Duane's *Aurora* in Shakespearian paraphrase this contemptuous comment:

“Alexander Hamilton's daily paper has appeared in New York—it has appeared, weary and stale, flat—we know not whether unprofitable.”

This was the commencement of caustic comment and mention of mistakes. These mentions were unappreciated, for says the *Aurora*:

“*The New York Evening Post* is not satisfied at our acknowledging a single instance of candor in that paper—we confess our mistake even in that single instance.”

The *Commercial Advertiser* of New York is yet agoing. Between that and the *Aurora* was reciprocity of rebuke. The latter not once, even, dignified the former with a title. It was “Noah Webster's paper.”

In the country's comparative youth the papers of diverse political creeds and of different mind within

the party indulged in undignified denunciation; and so they have all along; and so do they now. The difference between newspapers, the outgrowth of rivalry, is not, however, altogether on party lines—it is so that whatever is right with one seems wrong with the other. Naught have I to say in passing as to improvement or deterioration of character in journalism. When Dickens stepped “upon the very brink and margin of the land of liberty,” he heard the shrill yells of the newsboys: “Here’s the morning’s New York Sewer! Here’s this morning’s New York Stabber! Here’s the New York Family Spy! Here’s the New York Private Listener! Here’s the New York Peeper! Here’s the New York Plunder! Here’s the New York Keyhole Reporter! Here’s the New York Rowdy Journal! Here’s all the New York papers!” Now, not all the newspapers, even in New York, are yellow.

The display of spite in the newspapers of our forefathers is the same as in those of their descendants and yet with a difference.

Cheetham, the co-subject with Duane in the rhyming squib that begins this paper, was the editor of the *Citizen*. He had defamed Coleman, editor of the *Evening Post*; so had one Thompson. Coleman called for retraction. Cheetham valued discretion and did retract. Coleman and Thompson resorted to the code of honor in Love Lane. Thompson was thrown in his own doorway dying. Coleman unconcernedly resumed his desk and dipped the quill that stabbed character.

It is within my own observation that a southwestern town so thrives that it supports two newspapers. The animosity of the rival sheets is such that the dictionaries have been exhausted and new abusives invented. No one could suppose that the editors might pass on the thoroughfare without personal encounter save for

the intervention of strong armed peacemakers. But the press of the *Gazette* broke and hardly had it when came the *Mail* with proffer of assistance. The revolution of the same cylinder printed *Mail* and *Gazette* and the abuse was hurled at close quarters very like the whirling mud from the wheels of a wagon in a miry road.

These incidents illustrate the difference. In the former days it was real spite. In these days play spite, purely Pickwickian, for the excitement of the patrons and the emolument of the proprietors.

Sir Walter Scott says:

“Biography, the most interesting perhaps of every species of composition, loses all its interest with me when the shades and lights of the principal character are not accurately and faithfully detailed. . . . I can no more sympathize with a mere eulogist, than I can with a ranting hero upon the stage.”
—*Life of Sir Walter Scott*, John Gordon Lockhart, Vol. 11-98.

Dr. Samuel Johnson theorizes:

“But biography has often been allotted to writers who seem very little acquainted with the nature of their task, or very negligent about the performance. They afford any other account than might be collected from public papers, but imagine themselves writing a life when they exhibit a chronological series of actions or preferment; and so little regard the manners or behavior of their heroes, that more knowledge may be gained of a man’s real character, by a short conversation with one of his servants, than from a formal and studied narrative begun with his pedigree and ended with his funeral. . . . If a life be delayed till interest and envy are at an end, we may hope for impartiality, but must expect little intelligence; for the incidents which give excellence to biography are of a volatile and evanescent kind, such as soon escape the memory, and are rarely transmitted by tradition.”—*Rambler*, No. 60.

Duane's footprints in the sands are not so frequent and so clearly impressed for the caravans that move on are more numerous and they have been trodden out. Duane had fame in the grand divisions of the earth, all, save one, and through his agency, Thomas Jefferson, was the third President of the United States and still his name recalls no one.

Measured on the standards of biography I shall fail for I can no more than make a narration from print and publication however I can succeed in impartiality.

Where others end there I begin at the grave-yard.
From the *New York Star*:

"Col. William Duane, late Editor of the *Aurora*, died in Philadelphia on Tuesday, in the 76th year of his age. He was an able, indefatigable, and persevering writer of the old democratic school, and lived in the most stormy political times. The changes in the political world frequently brought him in conflict with his former friends, and led to controversies always bitter and unrelenting. No man had in his time more influence, and with faults and strong points of character inseparable from our nature, he possessed much sterling merit, and his history by an able and impartial hand would be highly interesting."

Duane's parents were well educated and well connected. Duane's mother was a native of Ireland, and likely his father was too. Her maiden name was Anastasia Sarsfield.* She was steadfast and stubborn and swerve her naught could, neither love nor torture; and from her faith no more than her martyred namesake. And from her Duane inherited this trait—an inflexible adherence to principle and allegiance to party, right or wrong—and that is all he did inherit from her. Duane's parents were pioneers in the northern province of New

* Said to be related to Patrick Sarsfield, the Irish patriot, who was created Earl of Lucan by James II. for his brilliant victories.

York and there near Lake Champlain was he born, May 17, 1760. Duane's father was a farmer and surveyor. He died in 1765; killed (so a descendant says) in an attack by the Indians.

Mrs. Duane, with her five-year-old boy, went to Philadelphia. After a short stay she changed to Baltimore. In 1774 she and he (he then fourteen) crossed the Atlantic to her native land and settled in Clonmel in the county of Tipperary.

Duane says he was inculcated in the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence in the country of his first youth. His mother, in her own country, chiefly, it is said, had him liberally educated but gave him no occupation as her comfortable circumstances indicated the need of none.

Young Duane felt

“The blind lad's power—”

very quickly—he was hardly nineteen. To help him burn “love's flame” was Catharine, the daughter of William Corcoran; she was his seventeenth child. The bride's people were of the Established Church. The groom's mother was of the Church of Rome. Zealous, above all, was she in Catholicism. She dedicated her one to the priesthood. The union with a Protestant incensed her. She discarded her son and ignored her daughter by marriage although as worthy of a duke as a Duane. Mrs. Duane in relentless resentment executed a will and disinherited her heir. She died a few years after—and a competence came to others. However it was an inheritance in masquerade; it sealed Duane's destiny for greater things. He, himself, taught the Catholic faith, was neither Catholic nor Protestant or in his liberality of religious tenet was both and as a motto for his creed he quoted:

“For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,
His can't be wrong, whose life is right.”

So was Duane in his nineteenth year without training, business or profession cast upon his own resources to gain for two a livelihood. Courageous of spirit, he never faltered. He adopted printing and learned the trade. In Clonmel he worked at it three or four years, then up to London he went, wife and infant son, where his father's brother, Matthew, lived. He went upon this one's invitation, or his own, for aid and advice. This Matthew Duane was an eminent conveyancer and a distinguished antiquary, curator of the British Museum and on friendly relations with Lord Eldon and Sir Horace Walpole.

The infant son mentioned was William John Duane, born at Clonmel, May, 1780, to become Secretary of Treasury of the United States. His earliest recollection is the election, 1784, at Covent Garden for members of Parliament. Charles James Fox and Sir Cecil Wray were two of the candidates. His father stood him on a pedestal of a column to witness the scene. A riot occurred. The Irish chairman who championed Fox's cause used the poles of a sedan chair in fighting the sailors who in the interest of Wray fought with short swords. This is the time the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire bought of a butcher his vote for Fox by the promise of a kiss, and what was better for the butcher, paid the consideration.

Duane, in 1787, acceded to a proposition to proceed to Calcutta and undertake there the publication of a newspaper. His family returned to Clonmel to await the result of the enterprise; if successful, it was to go to India too.

In India Duane was the editor of *The World*.* He

* A copy is in the possession of Mrs. Joseph N. DuBarry, Philadelphia.

was influential with the personages. Among his other acquaintance there to meet in another continent and in the thoroughfares of Washington, was Thomas Law, whose notable Indian career, beneficial to powers and to people Duane described in other years in striking recital. I refer to the memorial which begins:

“We knew him when he was inferior to no man in eminence and in power, the third or fourth in a great empire.”

Duane prospered from the start and acquired rapidly. His circumstances now warranted it and he was on the eve of completing arrangements to have his family join him. An article in *The World* appeared approving with injudicious force and fullness a grievance the army alleged to have against the local rulers—officers of the East India Company. The article gave offence to the Government. He was treacherously invited by the Governor, Sir John Shaw, to breakfast. On the way he was seized by the Sepoys and cast into the famous or infamous Black Hole of Calcutta. After a short detention at Fort William, of which the Black Hole was then the dungeon, he was hurried on ship and transported to England. For a consummation as condemnable his property was confiscated, with it a valuable library. In England his petition for redress resulted in battledore and shuttlecock acts; the East India Company beat him back to Parliament and Parliament back to the East India Company; of relief he got none.*

* “Duane is said to have set up for a patriot at Calcutta, and commenced his useful labours as editor of a newspaper, by exerting himself to foment a quarrel between the civil and military departments. Sir John Shore (now Lord Teignmouth) who then commanded, paid so little regard to the *rights of man*, that he merely rewarded him with a kind of wooden horsical promotion, which is not thought to confer any great honour on those who are the subjects of that kind of elevation. He was then sent to England, from whence he was imported, to teach American liberty and equality under the auspices of Emperor

Duane, on his return, was advised by his uncle, Matthew, to study law; this he declined to do. He brought his family to London and then quickly engaged in an employment congenial to his taste—Parliamentary reporter for the *General Advertiser*, since merged in the renowned *London Times*. Some sketches give that Duane was the editor and espoused the politics of the party of Horn Tooke—likely he was at a later date.

From the "Biographical Memoir" of William J. Duane (published in Philadelphia, 1868, By Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger) is this extract:

"His son, William John, often attended him to the gallery of the House of Commons, for the purpose of carrying to the office of the paper the notes of the debates, taken in shorthand. He was now of an age to enjoy the intellectual treat which the debates afforded. The House abounded in great orators, and the subjects of debates were questions of the greatest importance, the excitement produced throughout Europe by the French Revolution being sensibly felt in England. Among those whom he had the happiness to hear were Pitt, Fox, Burke and Sheridan, a galaxy which has never since been equalled and probably never will be.

"During this sojourn in London his father was on intimate terms with many of the friends of Parliamentary Reform. On one occasion he presided at a meeting of one hundred thousand advocates of this measure in the Copenhagen Fields."

William Duane and family sailed from London May 16, 1796, in the ship "Chatham," Captain Sammis in command, and arrived at New York on Independence Day.

Mr. Duane did not tarry in New York. He was soon Jefferson. Duane says, that he was kidnapped by Sir John, having been invited to breakfast. But the man is so given to lying, that we wish our readers to place no dependence on that part of the story.—*Thomas Green Fessenden.*

in Philadelphia and editor of a newspaper—the *True American*.

Benjamin Franklin Bache* accompanied his grandfather, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, to Paris and there in the house of Didot learned printing. He established the *General Advertiser*. The initial number appeared October 1, 1790; and, under its new name the *Aurora and General Advertiser*, November 8, 1794. It espoused the cause of the French republic and endeavored to direct American sympathy. President Washington disapproved the violence of the revolutionists and discountenanced the insolence of its diplomats. This course carried the *Aurora* into hostility to the Federal party and advocacy of the Anti-Federal party which came to be denominated the Democratic party; and, as the organ of that party was of all newspapers the most authoritative; it was commonly called "The bible of the democracy." Mr. Duane, under Mr. Bache's proprietorship, assisted in the editorial department.

The reign of the twin pestilences—cholera and yellow fever—in Philadelphia in these years had its badge on the door with frightful frequency. Mr. Duane had the cholera; so did his son, who was thought to be dead; and so did his wife, and on an unlucky date, Friday, the thirteenth of July, 1798, she died. A visitation of yellow fever carried along Mr. Bache, September 10 of that year. Mrs. Bache succeeded to the proprietorship of the *Aurora*; and succeeded well with the continued assistance of Mr. Duane; and so well in that coöperation that, like a wise widow, as all widows are, she made another combination—that of husband and wife. Margaret Hartman Bache became Mrs. William Duane, June 28, 1800. Mrs. Duane, the second, was a

* Bache was at that time pronounced Beech—"A Book of Remembrance," *Elizabeth Duane Gillespie*.

Miss Markoe, of Danish descent, a native of Santa Cruz, West Indies. Shortly Mrs. Duane relinquished to her husband the journalistic duties and she enjoyed the domestic jurisdiction.

At 106 Market Street and Franklin Court was a book-seller's and stationer's store—it was a large one. Connected with it were the printing presses of the *Aurora* and more than that was printed—books and periodicals, exceedingly many. It was Duane's literary emporium. The place is between Third and Fourth Streets on the left side going towards the City Hall. In "The Stranger in America," by Charles William Janson, are reproductions of William Birch's plates which exhibit the immediate locality. On the site was the mansion of Benjamin Franklin.*

In the city of Brotherly Love and in the commonwealth formed upon the treaty of peace "never sworn to and never broken" there was not, in those times, disturbance or dissension into which Duane did not happily enter with zeal. Glad of a quarrel was he; and it was of no consequence whether national, state or municipal, whether political, religious or anything else in the dictionary's descriptives. Had he Hibernian combative-ness, the challenging chip and his shillalah. The *Aurora* was charged with choler. Invective was exhaustive and exhaustless. Small flame was fanned to fury. The spirit of madness could not conjure more.

A measure to decide disputed elections of President and Vice-President of the United States was introduced

* Says Mrs. Gillespie (Duane's granddaughter): My mother was born in Franklin Court, a narrow street running south out of Market Street between Third and Fourth Streets. Here surrounded by a large courtyard, stood the home of one of the foremost citizens of our country, and here in her grandfather's house my mother drew her first breath on October 1, 1781. Here, too, she lived until after the death of Benjamin Franklin, April 17, 1791.—"A Book of Remembrance."

into the Senate. The *Aurora* in it saw that "calculated to influence and affect the approaching presidential election, and to frustrate in a particular manner the wishes and interests of the people of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania." The Committee of Privileges, to which the subject had been referred, saw in the publication that which tended "to defame the Senate of the United States, and to bring them into disrepute" and reported a resolution (March 14, 1800) directing that William Duane be ordered to attend at the bar on the — day of March when he would have opportunity to make a proper defence and then the Senate would proceed to take further order.

Mr. Duane (March 24, 1800) said he would come and he said also he observed with pleasure the justice of the Senate in the opportunity for defence. Duane consulted counsel, Messrs. Alex. J. Dallas and Thomas Cooper; they declined to represent him; then he wrote again to the Senate and said he would not come. He did transmit counsels' letters of declination. Mr. Cooper concludes:

"Where rights are undefined, and power is unlimited; where the freedom of the press is actually attacked, under whatever intention of curbing its licentiousness, the melancholy period cannot be far distant when the citizen will be converted into a subject."

The Senate (March 27, 1800) concluded that Duane was guilty of contempt and charged the sergeant-at-arms to take him into custody. Just then Mr. Duane had business out of town too urgent to be neglected or else the Senate became conscious that it had overstepped its bounds; at any rate, there was no arrest. Instead, a prosecution for libel was substituted (May 14, 1800) as a mode of punishment and President Adams

(May 16, 1800) with cheerful alacrity in compliance instructed the Attorney General and the District Attorney of Pennsylvania to commence and carry it on accordingly.

The "citizens of the republic of America," residents in Philadelphia, friendly to the editor, submitted a remonstrance to the Senate. It had a lengthy preamble, not in the reiteration of *whereas*, which nowadays recite the virtues of one who can do no more harm, but in a series of *we had thought*. The ninth thought begins:

"We had thought that the plain and acknowledged principles of natural justice would have prevented the accusers from being also the judges, the jury, and the punishers."

Governor McKean and Mr. Duane had been friendly allied but became estranged by political diversity. The Governor appointed Dr. Buchanan, a son-in-law, a physician at the lazaretto. This nepotism was opportunity for the *Aurora* and under the title "The Royal Family" published a list of persons connected by blood or marriage with the Governor's family in public office. The Governor retaliated by shoving from the public crib the "Friends of the People." The Governor had already sued the *Aurora* three times for libel and another son-in-law, the Marquis D. Yrujo, as many more. The staid city was held in turmoil and on edge to know what was coming in print next. The victims of rhetorical cuts cried for avengement. In the year 1806 Duane was then the defendant in sixty or seventy libel suits. In the docket the letter D had most entries. With 1800 and for a decade and perhaps for a longer duration every year was a crop of libels. The aggregate paid by Duane for his denunciation must have diminished the pleasure as well as the purse. Mr.

Duane was a candidate for the State Senate and I think for other elective office; however, he never annexed an "Honorable" before his name. The imbroglios, Pennsylvanian, of Duane connection, are of such intricate entanglement, and of so much occurrence, as to discourage an attempt of brief narration. Under the title "Pennsylvania Politics Early in this Century" these are depicted by Mr. William Meigs, of Philadelphia, with pleasurable perspicuity (*The Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. 17, pp. 462-496). A hint of the height of partisan fever is in the incident that when Duane, May, 1810, gave the "long talk" at the annual Tammany Society meeting all the State flags were decorated except that of Pennsylvania which was muffled in mourning "as the State suffers from dishonor."

Duane was defendant not only in civil cases. In 1799 (February 9) Duane, with a printer in his employ and two Irish emigrants, entered the yard of St. Mary's, a Catholic church, and during divine service, posted upon the walls a placard requesting the natives of Ireland who worshipped there to remain after service to affix their names to a memorial for the repeal of an alien law. Some signed; others remonstrated strenuously against the proceeding as sacrilegious. An attempt to exclude the intruders from the churchyard caused a scene in which one of the emigrants flourished a loaded pistol. Duane and his confederates were arrested and tried and one was convicted.

In May (15) of the same year, the *Aurora* alleged that some of the troops from Philadelphia, who went to suppress a riot at Northampton, had lived in free quarters while thus engaged. Officers of cavalry, incensed by the article, waited on the editor and demanded to know which troop was so stigmatized. The demand was refused; then Duane was forced into the

yard of his house where the demand was repeated. He again refused and was thereupon brutally beaten. The next day his Democratic friends assembled at the *Aurora* office to protect him from further attack but there was none, presumably because Duane's little Margaret had the butcher knife hid under her apron.

Duane had been secretary to an indignation meeting of the citizens which censured the board of health for its failures to create a quarantine. When the fever spread the *Aurora* was the organ of "The Contagionists" (1802).

The *Aurora* was a strong support to the Louisiana purchase. Duane's toast was: "Our brethren in Louisiana—may the enemies of the acquisition, and of its ample and pacific possession—obtain a *quietus in Perdidit*" (1804).

An impeachment of the judiciary of the State and unsuccessful conviction made sufficient embitterment to make parties. The *Aurora's* motto was "The common law everything, the constitution nothing," and advocated the cause of the Anti-Constitutionalists who organized under the name "Friends of the People" (1805).

Mr. Duane did more than augment the feuds; he advanced schemes of welfare. His observation, at home and abroad, was of sweeping scope; no subject escaped his sight.

He, the first, detected the danger to Philadelphia from the disposition of New York. The *Aurora*, December 5, 1801, prints a plan, "in order to the retrieving the loss of trade our city has experienced by the produce of our country having been diverted to the markets and ports of our sister States in consequence of the improvements made by them. N. York is draining off the trade of our northwestern quarter by her

wise measures and public spirit in expending large sums in opening the inland navigation of her exterior bordering on us."

Mr. Duane was a delegate to the booksellers' "Literary Fairs," like those of Germany, where they could buy, sell and exchange (1801 and several years subsequent).

Mr. Joseph Neef introduced (1807) in Philadelphia a system of education described in a treatise written by him shortly thereafter, "Sketch of a Plan and a Method of Education founded on an Analysis of the Human Faculties and Natural Reason: suitable for the offspring of a Free People, and for all Rational Beings." Mr. Duane with enthusiasm espoused the scheme of education and assisted Mr. Neef in opening a school. So what is taken as a novelty by us was well known to Mr. Duane—a century ago—the kindergarten (1807).

Mr. Duane's enthusiasm in the establishment of the Library of Congress is indicated by his letter to Mr. Madison, Secretary of State, May 10, 1801:

"Permit me also to suggest that as provision has been made for furnishing a library for the use of Congress, I should be glad to undertake the provision of such books as may be required, and as I have had some experience, having resided in England for five years, and am acquainted not only with the first booksellers, but numbers of the first library character in that country, I could undertake the importation of the books for the public library under advantages that few others possess."

Mr. Duane, with his offer, was a trifle tardy. Other arrangements had already been made by the Congressional Commission under the direction of Samuel Dexter, a Senator of Massachusetts.*

Mr. Duane became a property owner in the Capital

* "History of the Library of Congress," William Dawson Johnston.

City August 28, 1801, when he received a conveyance of the property at the northwest corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Sixth Street, square 460, part of lot 1; to this, April 19, 1804, he purchased an addition, part of lot 6.*

Mr. Duane, August 18, 1801, ten days previous to the purchase of the Pennsylvania Avenue site received a deed from the Commissioners to himself as assignee of Samuel Blodgett of lot 13 in Square 688, now a part of the Capitol Park. And the brick store on E between Seventh and Eighth Streets, opposite Blodgett's Hotel, on which Kid, Eliot and Co. had a sign a short time, is assessed to Mr. Duane. It does not appear that in either had Duane any substantial or any title at all.†

I believe Duane was the public printer during the administration of President Jefferson, at least the earlier part—so many official documents bear his imprint. A place of business near the executive and legislative departments would facilitate his work and in consequence he established a branch printing office here.

PRINTING OFFICE.

BOOKSELLING & STATIONERY STORE.

JUST OPENED

By WILLIAM DUANE

IN THE PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

The advertisement is of length and gives a list of publications for sale other than his own; and of his

* Mr. Duane's entire holding on square 460 was fifty-six feet three inches on Pennsylvania Avenue, one hundred and sixty-three feet eight inches, the entire front, on Sixth Street and forty feet two inches on C Street.

† The court records do not disclose any title to the E Street property (Square 431 lot 12) in Duane. Nevertheless he advertises it with his place of business for sale, April 3, 1807, and describes it—"the Brick House near Blodgett's Hotel, and the Two Lots of Ground on one of which it stands. The house was built for a store, and is very lofty and has a dry cellar and plaistered garret."

own new and beautiful editions; and in press to be published at the Aurora Book Stores, No. 106 Market Street, Philadelphia; and Square 460, Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington City, other literary ventures; and prospective ventures, generally historical, if sufficient encouragement is in sight.

The "Gambler, or Memoirs of a British Officer," has this imprint:

WASHINGTON CITY:
PRINTED AT THE APOLLO PRESS,
BY W. DUANE & SON.
1802.

There is no uniformity in the imprints, and in some the son's mention is omitted. The son, Wm. J., did frequently come and assist in the management. A list of these imprints is in Appleton P. C. Griffin's *Issues of the District of Columbia Press in 1800, '01, '02*—Columbia Historical Society.

The editor announced December 2, 1801, being present at Washington and that he "proposes to give the proceedings in Congress with regularity and fidelity." This he did and of the deliberations Demosthenic he reported with remarkable completeness. The *Aurora* had the look the Congressional Record has. Besides, by authority, the *Aurora* published the acts of Congress as it did those of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Duane was partial to Washington; to it he pointed with pride. From him here came to the *Aurora*, December 7, 1801:

"This city, one day destined to be the greatest on this continent at least, in every respect, extent, beauty, convenience, and grandeur, has doubled its population, and number of inhabitations in little more than a year. To the eye of the stranger, as he enters the precincts from an elevated point of

observation, the space surrounding the president's house appears in a thickly settled town, with numerous train of chateaux scattered over a circumjacent space of four miles, enlivened by the spacious view of the Potomac, and relieved by the sombre colouring of the Virginia hills on its opposite shores, which rising gradually present an elevated line above the level of the plane of the city, and which appear to connect with the hills of Maryland on the east, north, and west, giving to the seat of the city the appearance of a circular plain in a valley, though the actual scite is itself elevated in its greatest range thirty feet above the level of the rivers."

It gave Mr. Noah Webster envious emotions that Mr. Duane should be the guest of the President, and it gave Mr. Duane chance for some comparisons—comparisons between the administrations of the Presidents Adams and Jefferson. Of Adams he says—some steps would have been less impolitically pursued had he devoted less attention to "gratifying his vanity, with

'Pomp and feast, and revelry
Antique masques and pageantry.' "

Of Jefferson, with widest scope of a mighty vocabulary, he describes a democratic simplicity (letter, April, 1802):

"What a contrast! formerly all was sullenness and repulsion—now cheerfulness and content, hospitality without waste, and plenty without profusion, dignify the mansion. No parties are formed where the adoration of the principal personage is the chief occupation of the guests, too stiff for hilarity, too numerous for recreation, too miscellaneous and frivolous for sober enjoyment or the charms of discursive converse."

The British vandals discolored the Executive Mansion with smoke and it required some paint of blanching tint and then, so say some argumentative antiquar-

ians, it became the White House—that it was never in print that way until the Britons' invasion. Mr. Jefferson, every work day of the fall of 1801, visited the capitol, so anxious was he that the building for the House of Representatives should be in readiness at the approaching session. Returning slowly on Pennsylvania Avenue he was overtaken by a countryman, also on horseback. The granger was of the doubting Thomas order. Of the dialogue I give only the responses pertinent:

Farmer.—Dam me then if you 'rn't the first Virginian I ever seed that wouldn't sell or swap a horse (a pause)—whose is that great white house ayond there.

President.—It is called the President's.

F.—What that great white house—I have just passed another great place like one of our Dutch barns, with an end blown down and the roof off, but they tell me its the place where congress sits in, and is called the capitol— . . .

F.—Aye! aye! I understand you—you treat me to the President's wine—no, no, we Frederick folks don't believe everything that's told them neither—so good by to ye.

By the time the farmer was arrived at Georgetown he found he had been the companion of the President; there he related the incident himself. Mr. Duane has given the dialogue entire.

Mr. Duane returned to Washington with the ensuing session of Congress. And at once he writes of the city, November 26, 1802:

“This city is encreasing in the number of its buildings, and inhabitants, the abundance of its markets, and the variety of articles for the table. You may suppose the number of the hotels is also encreased.

. . . “The number of houses added to in the view of the walk between the capitol and the public offices, amounts to fifteen, the greater part of which are on the view of the Penn-

sylvania avenue, and of three stories high, in the adjacent streets, there are others now building, and in the division beyond the president's house towards Georgetown there are several buildings very forward; and at the other extreme towards the navy-yard a very considerable encrease of population has taken place.

"About the recreations I can say little—the horse races take place next week, and there is to be a race ball—the city assembly and the Georgetown assembly will I believe comprehend the whole—excepting the performance of the *great actors* on the capitol hill. On this theatre however, though there may be some *spouting*, it is not expected that the acting will be so much in the true *comic* and *tragic comic* style as in former seasons; so many of the *low comedy* characters and mock herces have forfeited their engagements by mistaking the taste of the audience, that nothing is expected but a little sentimental comedy and perhaps now and then a tragedy speech."

If it is my indolence or my confidence in the integrity of Mr. Bryan's research I am not compelled to confess while I adopt freely from the history of the hotels* the history of Duane's print and book shop. The structure was a two-story frame and it is likely upon his additional acquirement on the Sixth Street front he enlarged the establishment as the valuation for taxes is increased from fifteen hundred to twenty-five hundred dollars. Duane may have been the forecomer (1801) in the positional hub of the city, but soon others fixed themselves at the center and there was a little settlement. The proprietor of the Aurora Bookstore and Apollo Press, looking out of his front door a morning in December, 1803, saw that since the last session, along the avenue two additional footways had been laid and two handsome rows of trees on each side of the

* *Hotels of Washington Prior to 1814*, Wilhelmus B. Bryan, Columbia Historical Society.

carriageway had been set out, extending from the Capitol to the President's house; and that morning he saw on the same square and side, next door, Woodward's Centre Tavern and other neighborly buildings—four at least—at the western end. Across the avenue and directly he saw several buildings, one of which, latterly, was the residence of the brilliant John Law, son of Thomas Law—and diagonally the costly improvements (assessed at \$7,000) of Cruikshanks and Thompson, very likely, the range of three houses, one of which was the place of business of the *Intelligencer* under the editorial guidance of Samuel Harrison Smith. A few years after Duane saw just beyond Woodward's the rather important improvement (assessed at \$4,000) of the Washington Building Company. Mr. Solomon Meyers rented this building and Mr. Woodward's Centre Tavern, which was a two-story brick, and then let the public know (1805) of the Pennsylvania House and Meyers City Tavern. But more fanciful in name and more famous beside is the Indian Queen—which succeeded these with Jesse Brown as Boniface. After six years of business Duane concluded to divide his burden of disappointment and let Mr. Roger C. Weightman, who had been his assistant, May 27, 1807, for a consideration have his share here—and one sign came down and another went up. In 1814 Mr. Duane disposed of his realty; however, his interest in the city never declined. Mr. Duane and the family passed a part of the time in Washington for there is this:

MONTICELLO, Jan. 26. 22.

I have duly received, dear Madam, your favor of the 10th with the eloquent circular and address to your patriotic and fair companions in good works. I well recollect our ac-

quaintance with yourself personally in Washington valued for your own merit as well as for that of your esteemed father.

TH. JEFFERSON.

MRS. KATHERINE DUANE MORGAN.

Primarily this paper is for the purpose of disclosing Duane's part in the early history of the city and yet these few paragraphs are all of it. He did interest himself greatly in its progress—and William Elliott in *The Washington Guide* records—"Amongst those who by their wealth, talents, or industry have contributed to the formation of our infant Metropolis may be reckoned: William Duane."

Duane detected the detrimental influences to the growth, detected some that others did not, and when the influences were of human accountability, denounced the delinquents with vim; these influences he advances in orderly steps of the logician. He writes, March 24, 1804:

"Another cause is the jealousy of contending interests—the city has resembled a man who was claimed by three or four wives, who each in the effort to secure him to herself had worried him to death in her embraces. Miss Georgetown and Mrs. Alexandria, Miss Capitol Hill, Mrs. Navy Yard and Mrs. F Street—have by turns coaxed and wheedled, seduced and betrayed and altogether torn Mr. City of Washington limb from limb—and left him in a situation too feeble to be of very much importance to any of them. The idea is ludicrous enough but, it is not more ludicrous than the squabbles and intrigues of the different ends and quarters of this district—however one certain effect has been produced that these fine ladies in their efforts to *shew off* and outrival each other have for the most part, from being very dirty, ill looking, slatterns, become some of them very *tidy, neat*, handsome looking damsels, and others very motherly gentlewomen

—so finally are likely to be *united* contrary to the expectations of many, in one happy and flourishing family.”

Now if Mr. Duane was of those who

. . . “Seek diversion in the tented field,
And make the sorrows of mankind their sport,”

I do not know but it is as early as (24 July) 1799 that Timothy Pickering writes to President Adams:

“He (Duane) has lately set himself up to be the captain of a company of volunteers, whose distinguishing badges are a plume of *cock-neck* feathers and a *small* black cockade with a *large* eagle. He is doubtless a United Irishman, and the company is probably formed to oppose the authority of the government; and in case of war and invasion by the French, to join them.”

The soldier lads, imposing in the plumage plucked from the autocrat of the barnyard and the king of the birds, were, it is fair to infer, the Republican Greens who for years came to the calls by the *Aurora* signed “Wm. Duane, Captain.”

Duane was animated by everything belligerent and more animated by the tokens of conflict—habiliment and accoutrement, drum and gun. Of the Military Association (Pennsylvania), organized January 13, 1806, he was secretary and the delegate as Captain of the 25th Regiment.

Mr. Duane himself says that the pen and press are his formidable weapons, but that unfairly he was not left to the choice of weapons by thirty of the heaviest and stoutest federal officers in Philadelphia, and that he fought until he “could neither see nor hear nor stand,” and that from the exhibition of bravery he was invited to a command by a body of young men. And that in practice of his own principle “not to attempt

any thing without doing it well" he qualified himself by study. And that his discipline was pleasing, that he was elected lieutenant-colonel (July, 1805) and reëlected and would have been reëlected again but he was content that his regiment was "the best equipt and disciplined in the State." Before he went into the war he solemnly declared:

"I shall most certainly maintain those principles which have placed America on the happy preëminence she now holds and in defence of which I will whenever occasion calls for it most cheerfully devote my services and my life."

I do not know that Duane was

"Foremost of all the host that strove
To crowd Death's open door,"

or that he was careful of himself for future deeds of daring

"For those that fly may fight again
Which he can never do that's slain."

But *this* Mr. Duane surely did—he wrote three treatises on war—military text-books; and President Adams, the second, says:

"Duane the colonel, was a useful auxiliary to Duane the printer, for fleecing the public by palming upon the army, at extravagant prices, a worthless compilation upon military discipline that he had published."

That Mr. Adams' criticism is ill founded and that he is not as strong in soldier erudition as in other things is conclusively convincing by this excerpt from Duane's "Principles of Military Discipline."

"The great perfection of military discipline is to be found in the art of *marching* well, or, as the celebrated Marshal Saxe

expressed it: 'All the mystery of military discipline is to be found in the legs and he who thinks otherwise is a fool.' "

The Handbook for Infantry has this title page and following this official order:

A
HAND BOOK FOR INFANTRY:
CONTAINING
THE FIRST PRINCIPLES
OF
MILITARY DISCIPLINE,
FOUNDED ON RATIONAL METHOD:
INTENDED
TO EXPLAIN IN A FAMILIAR AND PRACTICAL MANNER,
FOR THE USE OF THE MILITARY FORCE OF THE
UNITED STATES.
THE
MODERN IMPROVEMENTS
IN THE
DISCIPLINE AND MOVEMENTS OF ARMIES.
THE FIFTH EDITION
BY WILLIAM DUANE,
ADJUTANT GENERAL IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.
PHILADELPHIA
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.
1813.
— — 0 — —
REGULATIONS
TO BE
RECEIVED AND OBSERVED
FOR THE
DISCIPLINE OF INFANTRY
IN THE
ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

“ADJUTANT GENERAL’S OFFICE,
“WASHINGTON CITY, 19th March, 1813.

“*General Orders.*

“The ‘Hand Book for Infantry,’ compiled and published by William Duane, of Philadelphia will be received and observed as the system of Infantry Discipline for the Army of the United States.

“By order of the Secretary of War,

“T. E. CUSHING,

“*Adj. Genl.*”

Duane was appointed by President Jefferson Lieutenant Colonel of Rifles July 8, 1808. He resigned July 31, 1810; and, by President Madison, adjutant general with the rank of colonel, March 18, 1813, and he was honorably discharged June 15, 1815. William Bache in “The Franklin Ancestry and Descendants in the Col. Louis Bache Line” states that during the War of 1812 defences were erected on the Delaware in the nature of fortified posts and earth works to prevent an attack on Philadelphia; and that Col. Duane commanded the troops at Dupont, New Jersey, one of these posts.

Charles Jared Ingersoll, in his “History of the Second War,” says: “Colonel Duane was a man of extensive military theoretical information.”

It is no victory if the enemy do not yield. This is not Mr. Duane’s expression; however, he used many of the same import and to that of Mr. Marcy “that to the victor belongs the spoils of the enemy” which in political parlance is public position and patronage. Duane, with the ascendancy of the Republicans, toward which the *Aurora* had accomplished much, began to urge the removals. However, he was surprised with the stubbornness of the enemy in surrender; says he:

"Some of the Federalists are so tenacious of their places, that after they have been dismissed from office they insist on remaining on the ground, and occupying the house attached to the office."

Mr. Gallatin to Mr. Jefferson, 17th August, 1801, writes:

"Duane has been here, and I have taken an opportunity of showing the impropriety of numerous removals. He may think the reason good, but his feelings will be at war with any argument on the subject."

Gallatin surmised rightly. Duane temporized his warlike spirit, yet not for long. Duane's rebellion to Gallatin's course, on the authority of the historian, Henry Adams, is the first in order and in importance in the retirement of him whom the sage of Monticello tributes "there is no truer man, and who, after the President, is the ark of our safety"; and, too, on that authority, Jefferson and Madison, both, sacrificed their Secretary of Treasury to a "profligate adventurer" (Duane) "whom they conciliated, flattered, persuaded, argued with, and supported by public and private aid."

Many of us have ancestors who in the early days willingly sacrificed to the hardships of life at the new capital to serve the country. Able men were these. Each accomplished what now requires a score, yes, several scores, and even more; in some instances, one was the whole bureau. Good men were these, in spite of Duane's characterization, for that is cancelled by the bar of limitation.

When Duane called that time on Gallatin he brought and left a pamphlet in manuscript, stitched, and headed "Citizen W. Duane" in ornamental letters. Gallatin endorsed it: "1801, Clerks in office; given by W. Duane." The book had three columns respectively for

salaries, names and remarks.* The latter were distinctively descriptive, short and strong, to wit: Pica-roon, Nothingarian, Nincumpoop, Adamite, Throat-cutter, Villain—and on down to—Hell-hot.

Abraham Bradley, Jr., Assistant Postmaster, has his turn in the list. Very likely he did not know that he had been complimented “an execrable aristocrat”; nevertheless in his eighty-second year he made a return compliment:

March 16, 1819

“This has rekindled the malice of D. and he is spitting out his venom by the wholesale. But that fellow is already so famous for falsehood and malice that his invectives are totally disregarded. His pen is too contemptible to produce scandal; and as

The Devil never feels in trim
But when in lies and scandal busy,
The *Aurora* man is just like him
And in fact a Junior Devil is he.”

The *Aurora* declined in political importance and Colonel Duane dropped the editorial pen in 1822. He had vigorously championed the struggles of Bolivia for independence and this gave him the prestige for a visit there to collect certain Bolivian debts for a commission. He was successful in the collection; and the clients were successful in cheating him of his compensation.

In the preface to the work to which I give extended note, the author says he has proposed to bestow a chapter on the grand work of the strait of Panama, to effect which he had made proposals to the Colombian government (sustained by capitalists) and which, if accom-

* Extract:

1400	Jacob Wagner	Complete picaroon.
600	Steph. Pleasanton	Nothingarian.
800	——— Brent	Nincumpoop.

(Secretary of State's Office.)

plished, as he knows it is practicable, would render the communication between two oceans as free and more secure than the passage of the straits of Sunda or Gibraltar.

Boswell's "Journal of a Tour in the Hebrides," Sir Walter Scott's "Diary of a Voyage in the Lighthouse Yacht to Nova Zembla, and the Lord Knows Where," and Col. Duane's "Visit to Colombia" are literary masterpieces of travel. In his narration of travel, Duane is no more the diatribist; all is told charmingly, chastely, clearly. His life in the four quarters, sharp observation, retentive memory, comprehensive information and varied experience are adjuncts of aid. His words are as a horn of plenty and flow in pleasing change. Naught that a public economist would overlook is overlooked. His description makes the landscape come to the mental view as through a field glass. The customs of the people are told and something also of the feathered people who look down from the tree tops. Everything is told worth telling and told well. He writes the scene and we see the actors and the acting. The oddities of the people is a vein of gentle humor and the oddities of his own personality is an auxiliary humor.

The title in full is

A VISIT
To
COLOMBIA,
IN THE YEARS 1822 & 1823,
BY LAGUAYRA AND CARACAS OVER THE CORDILLERA
TO BOGOTA AND THENCE
BY THE MAGDALENA TO CARTAGENA.

Beside the colonel was his daughter, Elizabeth, and his stepson, Lieutenant Bache, a grandson of Dr.

Franklin. The journey of thirteen hundred miles each way with its perilous ascents and descents was made by the American girl with the least fatigue. Duane says: "In those countries where Spanish policy had arrested the activity of man and palsied his genius, there are neither wheel carriages nor palankeens and the mule is the general bearer of all burdens." And so satisfactory had been the service of this sagacious beast the traveler in sheer gratitude is impelled to say "the persevering and patient mule labours his way with a constancy and security that is astonishing. In every other country the obstinacy of the mule is a sort of proverb; but I saw no instance of such a character in the long journey I performed: and without mules it is not to be conceived how intercourse could be carried on over the frightful and desolate cliffs, ravines and rivers of South America. They are, in fact, to these regions what the camels of northern and western Asia, and the steamboats of North America are."

The colonel on his route was surprised and gratified to hear: "Are you Colonel Duane to whom Congress voted thanks at Cucuta, in 1821?" and to meet those who knew of him and his history. His friendliness to Colombia as a politician and a militarist was spoken of and there were those who had his military publications in their bookracks and a memoir of his authorship, translated into Spanish, was circulated through Colombia. The colonel was accorded abundant hospitality at every stop except the once or twice when the alcade was not sufficiently impressed to stretch out his arms, then the colonel thought of that little dignitary and the animal with long ears at the same time.

The colonel was aroused by the "approaching sound of 'the spirit-stirring drum and the ear-piercing fife.'" He observes he "could hear the *assemblée* or even the

générale beat, without any more emotion than if it was a solo on a jew's-harp; but here were anxiety and strong throbs" in the

. . . " 'Drum's sonorous sound
Parading round, and round, and round.' "

He says "the excitement of the moment brought to mind the song of Frederick I. of Prussia, '9 mine got, vot blud and tonder,' " and he falls into a contrast with "our military music within the United States" and speaks of it as "so dull and execrable and our marching so much in the time of the 104th psalm:

'Bless the Lord, O my soul.' "

The colonel's poetic description of a coffee tree is in part:

"The branches were loaded, like the arms of an Oriental beauty, with beads of every tint, from the palest green to emerald, yellow topaz, from these to the rose and all its shades and hues, to crimson, and the deepest ruby red, 'last stage of all,' a confirmed chocolate brown, the sign of ripeness, and warning to the delicate finger where to pick."

This is an illustration of the writer's landscape descriptive:

"The common grovelling cactus was abundant along the skirt of the thicket, which appears to have been a road cut across this miserable plain, that would have spared the poets the exercise of invention in describing the borders of hell and the valley of sin or death—by the fitness of its lonely desolation.

'As when heaven's fire,
Hath scath'd the forest oaks, or mountain pines
With singed top, their stately growth, though bare,
Stands on the blasted heath . . .
. . . The causeway to hell-gate,
On either side, disparted chaos.' "

Approaching Santa Rosa, the traveller says:

“A beautiful river revealed its current by the tremulous silvery light reflected from the sun. This feature of the landscape soon identified the resemblance of which I was not before conscious, but it was a very striking likeness of the position and valley of the city of Washington, as seen from the brow of the Capitol Hill. The brightness of the sun gave the appearance of the month of May at Washington.”

He says:

“They were particularly pleased, too, when I told them of the resemblance which the valley of Santa Rosa bore to that of Washington City in the first bloom of spring.”

The peculiarities of a people who believe in God and worship Bolivar, who are dead all day and dance all night, Duane hits off in a merry way.

“Here I saw beauties as fair as Cynthia, and as ruddy as Hebe, brilliant white and roseate, gracefully traversing the mazes of the dance, with citizens composed of every shade, from fair to the complexion of the native Indian; women, however, well educated in the best knowledge taught in the country, and not the less esteemed for not being wholly fair complexioned. There is no discrimination now made, but by intellectual and moral fitness for personal respect or public station.”

The colonel says the commandant at Tucugo “seemed to think his good Señora was too weighty for an angel, but the good Señora herself was not only persuaded that she was angelic, and took no great pains to conceal her beauties in all the fulness of nature.”

So human nature is much the same whether the blend be Spanish or the latitude different.

“Elizabeth, in her night-cap placed herself on the *vis-a-vis* seat of the window, with her work-box and her embroidery.

The arrival of an elephant or a whale could not have affected the pretty ladies of Truxillo with more curiosity, than the rumor of a strange damsel, of fair complexion, with cheeks as roseate as those of the Virgin of Chinchiquia, had arrived in Truxillo, and was actually quartered at the *casa* of Señora Cardona in the Calle Grande; the pavement, though good for horses, or mules, or asses, is not exactly the best adapted for very pretty delicate feet, cased in satin or other silk shoes; and moreover, where it is so rough, there is a necessity of keeping the hind-skirt of the garment from soiling where the mules have gone before them—what was to be done? could it be expected that curiosity would regard a rough pavement? . . . They in fact passed on the opposite side of the street, and they peeped, but good manners did not permit them to peep long enough, and besides the *night-cap* was . . . edged with . . . those deep borders, which were intended to defeat the wontonness of the sunbeams, now defeated the curiosity of the *Señoritas*, who wished to see everything, after passing up and down, first at this side, and then at that, eyeing the object, as if, like Miranda in the Tempest,

‘They could no woman’s face remember,
Save from the glass they’d seen their own.’ ”

At length female curiosity surmounted all scruples—a group entered the corridor and using the diplomacy of a widow “entered upon the word.”

. . . “They prayed to be permitted to take a pattern of the cap—Elizabeth went to her trunk to find one perfectly unsoiled, and it was necessary to remove some other articles to get at it, this was opening Pandora’s box, the cap was lent that day, and before we left Truxillo it was the general object of female attraction. Perhaps they heard some passing traveller say that ‘a beautiful woman never looks so well as in her night-cap’—and they all determined to look well—for every one had taken a pattern. But the trunk had revealed other curiosities—‘Come, my sweet friend’ said one of them, ‘promenade the streets, and show your beautiful clothes, my

pretty friend.' How it was possible that a young lady should have handsome clothes and not walk abroad to show them, was beyond their conception."

M. Mollien was premier in the field with a book of travel through the northern borderland of South America. It was not jealousy perhaps on the part of Duane, it was his strict standard of truth, that caused him to challenge Mollien's statements and disprove them with foot-rule accuracy. Says our traveller:

"A translation of a Persian or a Turkish narrative literally would be, to men accustomed to the use of language in expressing ideas exactly, a series of hyperboles; the Spanish idiom partakes of this orientalism; and M. Mollien's work proves that the French admits of this species of caricature." "His (Mollien's) account of the device of a host at the *Venta de Basto*, deserves notice:—"The prejudice of the inhabitants of the Cordillera against fire, which they conceive to be unwholesome, prevents them from lighting any, I was benumbed, although my berth was the least exposed to the outward air, and was wrapped up in thick wollen cloaks, etc. The cold, however, did not last all night for *my host conceived the singular idea of bringing up a great number of cats, which were trained to place themselves upon the feet of the travellers; I had two of them, whose thick furs kept me very warm.*"

This story (says Duane) "merits record in the history of the feline species, and may have a place in the same chapter with the fight of the Kilkenny cats—equally authentic."

"There wanst was two cats in Kilkenny,
Aitch thought there was one cat too many:
So they quarrelled and bit,
They scratched and they fit,
Till excepting their nails
And the tips of their tails
Instead of two cats, there wasn't any."

—Miss Conway.

General Washington to James McHenry from Mt. Vernon, 11 August, 1799:

“There can be no medium between the reward and the punishment of such an Editor, who shall publish such things as Duane has been doing for some time past. Can hardihood, itself be so great as to stigmatize characters in the Public Gazettes for the most heinous offences and when prosecuted, pledge itself to support the alligation, unless there was something to build on? It will have an unhappy effect on the public mind if it be not so.”

Ten days before the ex-President's letter President John Adams to his Secretary of State, Timothy Pickering, from Quincy (August 1, 1799) writes:

“Is there anything evil in the regions of actuality or possibility, that the *Aurora* has not suggested to me? The matchless effrontery of this Duane merits the execution of the alien law. I am very willing to try its strength upon him.”

Between the Adams and Franklin families was an animosity, planted by the founders and cultivated by their followers. To Benjamin Rush the elder Adams, 12 April, 1809, criticizes Dr. Franklins' diplomacy in France, adverts to their quarrels and continues:

“That I knew he had conceived an irreconcilable hatred to me, and that he had propagated and would continue to propagate prejudices, if nothing worse against me in America from one end of it to the other. Look into Benjamin Franklin Bache's *Aurora* and Duane's *Aurora* for twenty years and see whether my expectations have not been verified.”

That remarkable diary of John Quincy Adams (1795–1848) that ran copiously for more than half a century is for Duane neither sparing in space nor spite—there is page after page and here is only a part of one:

“As merely the editor of a newspaper, character is not necessary to support opposition. To prove venal and profligate would only show him fit for the trade which he pursues, of disseminating slander. He has talents, long and uninterrupted experience in public affairs, much knowledge crammed without order or method into his head, and indefatigable, unremitting industry. His real faculty and power as a slanderer consists in mixing truth with falsehood in such proportions that with the ignorant, the malicious, and the interested the compound is so like truth 'twill serve the turn as well. As a partisan, he can be useful only to those whose cause depends upon the propagation of falsehood. For support of truth or correct principle he is impotent.”

From the diary it appears that Duane had an unsettled account with the government as quartermaster which Duane accounted for by his poor bookkeeping. It likewise appears that Duane had a project of selling stands of arms to the South Americans of Venezuela with an allowance of commission and another project—his appointment as agent for Venezuela and New Granada or even Mexico. Mr. Adams was the medium of presentation to the President (Mr. Monroe) who doubted the prudent policy of a secret sale and the expediency of the agency—it would seem a condonement of daily journalistic jeers and the consideration for a purchase of peace.

Mr. Wirt to Mr. Jefferson, from Richmond, April 10, 1811, writes:

“You may rely upon it that D’s name has no magic here.”

These are of the philippics. The editor had his panegyrists and one who could not write without writing felicitously.

Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Wirt from Monticello (March 30, 1811):

“That paper has unquestionably rendered incalculable services to republicanism through all its struggles with the federalists, and has been the rallying point for the orthodoxy of the whole Union. It was our comfort in the gloomiest days and is still performing the office of a watchful sentinel. We should be ungrateful to desert him, and unfaithful to our own interests to lose him.”

Another President, Mr. Madison, says (1811):

“I have always regarded Duane, and still regard him, as a sincere friend of liberty, and as ready to make every sacrifice to its cause but that of his passions.”

Washington is revered. Adams is revered. Jefferson is revered. All revere these who prepared the way for American liberty. In their time all had not unanimity of championship; the friends of one were the foes of the others. On the retirement of Washington from the second presidency Duane published an exultation. It voiced his conviction at the time. In other days he was of the admirers of him who is First.

In the *Aurora*, March 6, 1797, appears:

“‘Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!’ was the pious ejaculation of a man, who beheld a flood of happiness rushing in upon mankind—if ever there was a time which could license the reiteration of the exclamation, the time is now arrived, for the man who is the source of all the misfortunes of our country is this day reduced to the level with his fellow-citizens, and is no longer possessed of power to multiply evils upon the United States. If ever there was a period for rejoicing, this is the moment; every heart in unison with the freedom and happiness of the people, ought to beat high with exultation that the *name* of *Washington* from this day ceases to give a currency to political iniquity, and to legalize corruption. A new æra is opening upon us—a new æra which promises much to the public; for public measures must now stand upon

their own merit and nefarious projects can no longer be supported by a *name*. When a retrospect is taken of the Washington administration for eight years past, it is a subject of the greatest astonishment that a single individual should have cancelled the principles of republicanism in an enlightened people just emerged from the gulf of depotism, and should have carried his designs against the public liberty so far, as to have put in jeopardy its very existence; such, however, are the facts; and with these staring us in the face, this day ought to be a jubilee in the United States."

Duane's publication provoked censure, particularly by Thomas Green Fessenden, a poet and newspaper writer of Yankeeland; yet the censure is as undignified as the cause by "this man, the leader of what is termed the *Jeffersonian Mobocracy*." Mr. Fessenden "the Hudibras of America" resented not alone in prose.

Mr. Fessenden's measured tirade is this:

Step forward, demagogue Duane,
Than whom a greater rogue in grain,
Ne'er fortified by mob alliance,
Dare bid the powers that be, defiance.

Law order, talents, and civility,
Before your worshipful mobility,
Must bow, while you their thinking man,
Lead by the nose your kindred clan.

Thou are indeed a rogue as sly,
As ever coined a ready lie,
Amongst the Catalines of faction,
None calls more energies in action.

With impudence the most consummate,
You publish all that you can come at,
To make for discords' sake, a handle,
Of private anecdote, or scandal.

Few good and great men can be nam'd,
Your scoundrelship has not defam'd;
And scarce a rogue who ought to hang
Who is not number'd with your gang.

And thou, audacious renegadoe,
With many a libellous bravadoe,
Assail'dst Columbia's god-like son.
The great, *th'immortal* WASHINGTON!

Dost thou remember much about a
Droll 'scape of thine once at Calcutta;
When erst invited to a breakfast,
In noose you nigh had got your neck fast?

Sir John, however, on the whole,
Did wrong to set you on a pole;
For such a patriot ought to ride
Suspended from the *under side*.

Now 'gins the fair, dew-dabbling blushing morn
To open to the earth heav'n's eastern gates,
Displaying, by degrees, the new-born-light,
The stars have trac'd their dance; and unto night
Now bid good-night:
The young day's sentinel, the morning-star,
Now drives before him all his glitt'ring flock,
And bids them rest within the fold unseen;
Till with his whistle, Hesperus calls them forth.
Now Titan up, and ready, calls aloud,
And bids the rolling hours bestir them quick,
And harness up his prancing foaming steeds,
To hurry out the sun's bright chariot:
O now I hear their trampling feet approach!
Now, now I see that glorious lamp to dart
His nearer beams, and all be-paint with gold
The over-peeping tops of highest hills.

HAWKINGS'S APOLLO SHROVING.

It could be that the editor in the daughter of the dawn saw suggestiveness of the dispersion of ignorance and the dissemination of intelligence—mental illumination.

Night wanes . . .
 . . . Light awakes the world.

BYRON.

The title design is a representation of the radiating rays of the rising sun with *Aurora* in rainbow curve on it, dividing *General* from *Advertiser*. Under the representation is the motto "Surgo ut Prosim"; and, under all "Published (*Daily*) by WILLIAM DUANE, Successor of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BACHE, in Franklin Court, Market Street."

Of the *Aurorean* articles of political bias it is sufficient to say that venom, vehemence, violence, virulence, vilification, vituperation, severity, scandal, spite, sarcasm, stab, everything in the catalogue of hurt is replete in them. Oppositely the articles of other nature have happy sparkle. Political passion, perhaps, was the index of his concern for the country—it was his ardor as attorney for the people; more convincing, his enlistment in war an index of his patriotism.

The *Aurora* under Duane's exclusive responsibility makes twenty-five annual volumes (November 1, 1798 to —, 1822). The first paragraph I ever saw in the *Aurora* is this (August 3, 1801):

"In the *Aurora* of Thursday last we gave a sketch of the character of the former Editor of the *Farmers' Weekly Museum* of Walpole, New Hampshire, who was subsequently employed by Pickering as a kind of literary Jackall at a salary paid out of the public Treasury, and who is now the Editor and publisher of a thing call the PORT FOLIO, but which from its size and substance we think proper to call the PORTABLE FOOLERY."

I hesitate and then indulge the inclination to quote from the fourth anniversary address (November 3, 1803) dedicated

“TO SUBSCRIBERS.

“It has been customary with printers of newspapers to present their subscribers with annual addresses blending flattery with reproach—such have been dispensed with by this paper. The necessity of the case, and not the desire to bestow compliments without feeling, or reproach without discrimination renders an address at this time indispensable; though the facts which it may be necessary to state, may furnish new ground for an impeachment of the morality of those who make use of the property, labor and time of others without the remuneration which is due. Where the press is deemed more sacred, and of more use than in any other country—where its discussions and communications from the principle sources of general information—and where perhaps its prosperous existence, bold, dignified, free and independent, is of the greatest consequence to the public liberties, it would seem to be an obligation of no inferior force to discharge punctually the slender annual subscription for an incessant activity and industry, independent of the expences and the dangers to which editors of newspapers are exposed.”

The subject of the sketch was gallant and it to him was a happy chance to turn a compliment on the sex of charm; and when Mr. Aaron Burr was witnessing the second inauguration of Jefferson—but I let him say it himself:

“Mr. Burr was in the gallery among the sovereign people on Monday—when we say sovereign, we mean even more than the sovereign people, we mean the peoples’ sovereign—the ladies.”

At the hearthstone he disclosed easily the good of his nature and betterly his erudite and attractive attainment—and he, himself, was reproduced in his family

in a distinguishing trait—culture. Mrs. Hartman B. (Anna M.) DuBarry (New Brighton, February 16, 1903) says:

“My mother-in-law, the baby of the family—spoke of her being a great deal in the library with her father as he wrote—of the large family—and the many guests that came and went, noted people, and prominent foreigners and strangers in the city, of the generous hospitality—(often too generous perhaps) it gave one a pleasing picture—of the entertaining traveler and the genial host, who drew from a wide and varied experience”

Another (Miss Helen DuBarry) says of her ancestor: “He was a very affectionate sort of a man,” and it did not break his equanimity that Margaret and Emma built houses of the books when there were guests.

Children of William Duane:

First wife—Catherine

William John,

Catherine, m. Thomas P. Morgan.

Second wife—Margaret H.*

Elizabeth, m. Henry Crabbe,

Sydney, died in infancy,

Anastasia, m. — — Lloyd,

Margaret,

Emma, m. Dr. Edmund Louis DuBarry, U.
S. N.

Duane's son, William John, was Secretary of Treasury under President Jackson.

A portrait of Duane by Gilbert Stuart was, at the

* Died May 28, 1836. She is described as “a little bit of a woman—of commanding presence and impressive manner,” despite littleness. And brave too for that time—(the colonel was absent in South America)—when she found the intruder under the bed, she drummed him out to the outer side with the order of a military movement, herself, the sole and silent escort.

Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, destroyed by fire. A photographic reproduction had been made and this in turn has many copies. Mr. Russell Duane of Philadelphia has three portraits, none of them in oil. Mr. Duane, the possessor of the portraits, himself is a living likeness of his noted ancestor, a happening of heredity. A standard portrait is reproduced in a large volume "The History of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and of the Hibernian Society," by John H. Campbell, Philadelphia, 1892. The reproduction of the Stuart portrait is by the courtesy of Mrs. Allan B. (Estelle DuBarry) Sutherland; and that of the St. Memin by the courtesy of Mr. Russell Duane.

His years added; his usefulness abated not. In the setting years the fierce heat declined. He had to the end administration of governmental affairs; it was pacific and partook of the judicial and legislative; he was the Prothonotary of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Eastern District (from 1826 to his death) and Alderman for the city of Philadelphia.*

He died Tuesday morning, the twenty-fourth of November, 1835; in his seventy-sixth year. His friends were invited to the funeral, ten o'clock, the Thursday following, at his late residence on Elizabeth Street near Sixth; and in large numbers they followed to the grave in Ronaldson's Cemetery.† At Wrexham in Wales is the quaint inscription on the headstone of the founder of Yale University. The sentiment exact, the detail almost, could have been chiseled for Duane's.

* Mr. Duane's official life has not been closely pursued. He was of the Common Council of Philadelphia in 1822.

† Ronaldson's, between Bainbridge and Fitzwater, Ninth and Tenth Streets, Philadelphia.

“Born in America, in Europe bred,
In Africa traveled and in Asia wed,
Where long he lived and thrived, in London dead;
Much good, some ill, he did; so hope all’s even
And that his soul in mercy’s gone to Heaven.”

Duane’s resting place is North Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia. He rests with them to whom he is ancestral. The iron-fenced plot is the summit, the slope is the flowery bank of the Schuylkill. It is a dreamful scene. Nature is afresh; and storm is abated. A marble slab marks the spot; on it is graven when Duane came and when he went;* naught beside and yet could be

His was a strenuous life.

“COL. DUANE TO HON. STEPHEN R. BRADLEY.

“PHILA. Nov. 10. 1808.

“*My dear Sir,*

“I thank you for the kindness you have shewn me in your communication. These fellows are great fools or think the Senate great fools to address such stuff in such a manner to that body. The thing was done I have no doubt in Phil^a. yet it is astonishing what ignorance it displays. It is well known by every person of common information here, that it was proved in the Fed^l Court that I was born in America—and did not leave it till my 14 year—that my father died here.

“It is very true that I arrived here in 1796, but if I had not left here in 1774, it would have been impossible; but it is very extraordinary that my doctrines should be dangerous, since I inculcated them from the declaration of Independence, and supported them by a publication of three Poems in 1780, one entitled Liberty and the other Independence, and third a descriptive poem in which the Spirit of 1776 breathed throughout; if those principles were French principles, no

*

WILLIAM DUANE
Born May 17th 1760
Died November 24th 1835

doubt I had them before the French Revolution and maintain them now, and will continue to maintain them tho' I never was nor am I likely ever to be in France. It may be also worth remark, that if my principles are French that the present Emperor of France once thought it worth while to make a formal complaint to the Executive of the United States against the Principles which I asserted in the *Aurora* and that I think as execrably of the French Emperor now as I did then and ever since the outrage of liberty at StCloud.

"If I have been buoyed up by my principles then, it is because the principles themselves could not be overthrown; many attempts have been made and are now making to sink the principles which have buoyed me up; it is some comfort that I have been buoyed up in good company and that the enemies of the author of the Declaration of Independence are the only enemies I have or ever had.

"It is remarkable that the anonymous writer besides being very laborously malignant is either very ignorant or wilfully misstates facts—He says I made myself formidable by my personal efforts and the agency of fifty or sixty foreigners he formed as a body guard. The fact is that my *pen and press* are the only formidable weapons I have ever used; thirty federal officers found no difficulty in attacking me when I had no other weapons, and altho' I made a good battle as I could against 30 of the heaviest & stoutest men in Philadelphia, and fought till I could neither see nor hear nor stand, I was not surely very formidable in that way; as to the company, I believe it was out of that outrage, for very soon after without any agency or knowledge of mine, a body of young men presented themselves to me and offered to uniform if I would command them; a young man now in the United States army, was their lieutenant, and I accepted the command. I knew nothing, not even the manual exercises at the time, but my principle has ever been not to attempt any thing without doing it well—I applied to study and qualified myself to command; and as the uniformed companies are attached to regiments, that to which I was attached was so well pleased

with the discipline of my company, that without any knowledge of their intention, I was put in nomination by the majors of the regiment as colonel and elected; as to its being done by my friends, I did not know out of my own company, five men in the Regiment, which is 1200 strong, and the election is by the vote of each individual by ballot. I was elected a second time the same way unanimously, and I believe I should be elected again if I were disposed to accept it, for the regiment is now the best equipt and disciplined in the State—and has added to it by my activity and the influence of discipline introduced by me beside the 8 battalion and 2 flank companies, 1 troop of light cavalry 1 troop of horse artillery with two field pieces & equipments, and one company of Pikemen; the example of the regiment has excited a military spirit through the State, and has *very naturally* excited the hatred & the fears of enemies of the militia and the government

“It is not true that I retained the command of my company unless as Colonel—Capt Graves was elected Captain when I was elected Colonel of the 25th but I need not expose the ignorance of the writer better than by referring you to the following assertions—he says I have the command of a regiment, now this you know is not true since my appointment is that of Lt Col. he says I recruit my own regiment; now this is perfectly ridiculous, since unless what appears in the papers I know nothing of the business, and whether there are any recruiting parties or not, unless what I naturally conclude to be the case; I know of two companies, one at Carlisle and one under Col. Simonds on the N. W. frontier. The quantity of falsehood in the letter would render any notice of it superfluous, were it not due to your politeness to take this mode of exposing the fallacy of the writer

“My talents are much overated by the fears of the public enemy and altho’ I might consider it but as the fruit of their imbecility, it affords me some satisfaction to know that I have incurred their hatred by my zeal in the cause of my country—

“As to the appointment itself, unless as it confers honor

and display the confidence of my country it is not an object to me either in a pecuniary or a professional view. If there is war I will forsake every other business for that of my country's service; at present in the enjoyment of 10000 \$ a year; surely the acceptance of 900 would be a trifling exchange—I pay two clerks in my employment each a larger salary than my lieutenant colonel's pay. I feel, however, proud of the honor and the confidence of men who are an honor to human nature, and am not at all displeased at the enmity of those who are a disgrace to their species, enemies of liberty, and traitors to their country.

“The Tories of this State will never forgive me—and in the recent election, I may fairly claim more merit and more effective influence in deciding the result and the accumulation of triumph than any other man--Thank God I have been able to render so much service and as long as God spares me, I shall most certainly maintain those principles which have placed America on the happy preeminence she now holds and in defense of which I will whenever occasion calls for it most cheerfully Devote my services & life

“If any gentleman of the Senate should be desirous of enquiring any thing concerning me, I have no bit of objection to answer any question, and to afford the most explicit information in my power; in my whole life—in my private moral character and my public, I defy the malice of the world to exhibit a single act or deed that a moral man, a husband, father, friend, or member of civil society ought to blush for. This is as broad and unequivocal and as particular as human language or thought can make a challenge, and in this sense I utter it.

“I think it proper to inform you, that I hold in my possession *a letter from every individual on our electoral ticket pledging themselves to vote for Madison President.* The measure was suggested by myself, and I hold the letters as Secretary of the State Committee. This is sufficient for this State.

“With great respect yrs

WM DUANE

“Dr Leib was married last evening to Miss Kennedy daughter of Mr. And. Kennedy of this city—a very amiable and excellent young lady.

“When the appointments are presented to the Senate, I should like if it be desired by the friends of the administration to send on a suitable reply to the anonymous writer, or to furnish any member with facts—”

WRITINGS OF WILLIAM DUANE.

Compilation of the writings of William Duane—completeness is not claimed:

Three Poems, 1780:

1. Liberty.
2. Independence.
3. Spirit of 1776.

“Account of the Proceedings of a Meeting of the People for Speech.” London, 1795. Pennsylvania Historical Society.

“A History of the French Revolution. . . . Examination of the Dispute between the French and American Republics.” Vol. 1, Philadelphia, 1798. Pennsylvania Historical Society.

“A report of the Extraordinary Transactions which took place at Philadelphia in 1799. . . . A lien bill. . . . The assault on the committee at St. Mary’s Church.” Philadelphia, 1799. Pennsylvania Historical Society.

“Trial of Rioters for Riot, and Assault on Philadelphia.” 1801. Library of Congress.

“The Mississippi Questions.” 1803.

“Experience the Test of Government.” 1807. Pennsylvania Historical Society.

“Military Dictionary.” Philadelphia, 1810.

“An Epitome of the Arts and Sciences.” 1811.

“Hand Book for Riflemen.” Philadelphia, 1813. Two editions.

“Hand Book for Infantry.” Philadelphia, 1813.
Five editions, 55 plates.

“Explanation of Plates of the System of Infantry Discipline.” 1814. Not printed.

“The System of Infantry Discipline; According to the Regulations Established for the Army of the United States.” March 19, 1818. Philadelphia, 1814.

“American Military Library or Compendium of the Modern Tactics.” Two volumes, Philadelphia, 1819.

“A Visit to Colombia in 1822 and 1823.” Philadelphia, 1826.

The Duane papers are valuable pamphlets, very numerous; they were purchased by the United States and are lodged in the Library of Congress.